

Ignaz Seipel

CHRISTIAN STATESMAN
IN A TIME OF CRISIS

By Klemens von Klemperer

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

1972

Contents

<i>Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Introduction</i>	3
I. THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1876-1909: THE CHURCHMAN AND SCHOLAR	18
Politics and Society in Vienna at the Turn of the Century	19
Family Background	27
The Young Churchman and Scholar	31
II. THE MAKING OF A CHRISTIAN STATESMAN: THE SALZBURG YEARS, 1909-1917	42
The "Grand Rehearsal": The Salzburg Cultural Scene	43
The Sulking Corner by the Salzach River	49
<i>Nation und Staat</i>	54
The Plan for Imperial Reform and Seipel's "Personal Peace Policy"	65
III. REVOLUTION BY CONSENSUS AND THE POLICY OF ACCOMMODATION: 1918-1920	74
". . . Guarding the Exit of Habsburg"	75
The Revolution: Monarchy or Republic?	94
Campaigning	109
The Coalition with the Left; Socialization	120
	vii

Contents

The Peace Treaty	125
Renewal and Breakup of the Coalition	130
The Constitution	136
The Visit to the Emperor	145
Consensus Eroded	150
IV. SEIPEL AND THE PROBLEM OF AUSTRIAN IDENTITY: 1920-1922	158
Conditions for an Austrian Foreign Policy	159
Moving into Position	163
Chancellor	174
Whither Austria?	179
The "Great Trip"	186
Between Geneva and Vienna	197
V. SEIPEL AND THE CRISIS OF AUSTRIAN DEMOCRACY: 1923-1929	220
The Handicaps of Austrian Democracy	221
Two Parties: Christian Socialists and Social Democrats	226
The Leaders: Seipel and Otto Bauer	233
Fortress Vienna	238
Obstruction	241
Withdrawal	244
"Government by Telephone"	249
Return	251
Two Party Programs and the Specter of Civil War	252
Civil War	262
The Aftermath: Collision Course	269
In Search of "True Democracy"	274
VI. IN SEARCH OF A DIPLOMACY FOR CENTRAL EUROPE: 1923-1929	294
After Geneva	295
Seipel and the Anschluss Question	301

Contents

Sibling Rivalry: Seipel and Stresemann	307
Seipel, the Question of the Move of the League to Vienna, and the Interview with Beneš in 1928	319
Seipel—Mussolini—Bethlen	329
The Marinković Incident	338
Between Vision and Despair	340
Exit Seipel	344
VII. ELDER STATESMAN OR GRAY EMINENCE? 1929-1932	348
After Seipel: <i>Détente</i>	349
A Disinterested Academician?	353
The Policy of Irresponsibility: Seipel versus Schober	357
Foreign Minister in the Vaugoin Cabinet	377
Seipel and the Customs Union	383
The Cabinet Crisis of June 1931	393
The Presidency?	400
Seipel and the Specter of National Socialism	403
A New World Order?	410
Between Life and Death	418
<i>Conclusion</i>	429
<i>Bibliography</i>	443

Illustrations

Ignaz Seipel. Photograph by Trude Fleischmann, <i>Frontispiece</i>	
“The Flying Prelate”	9
Map: The Breakup of Austria-Hungary after the First World War (1919)	76
Drawing by Max Sandor made after Seipel’s recovery from the attempt on his life, 1924	234
Otto Bauer	235
July 27, 1927: Seipel before the Nationalrat	270
Seipel’s “mental cobweb”	394